

# They Have the Idea That It's Going to Taste Like Coffee Which It Most Distinctly Does Not: Demarketing for the Duration of 1941-45 Hostilities

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*Business executives of most consumer product companies faced many problems by early 1942. As the nation rapidly mobilized for war, there was, among other issues, the need to answer a fundamental question: what (if any) promotional message should be delivered to consumers amidst a firm's requirement to demarket. The authors review the literature of that era and attempt to make a preliminary assessment of that question by examining a sample of advertising messages in one magazine (Ladies' Home Journal) just before and during 1942-45. The results are summarized as a series of interesting responses, and these are often surprisingly close to what the wartime marketing literature recommends.*

## INTRODUCTION

...The shortage of certain raw materials, and other difficulties raised by the war, have already made radical changes in the marketing situation. In many fields a consumer goods the problem is not how to stimulate demand but how to repress it. Indeed, it is painfully apparent that a newspaper item announcing an impending shortage of silk stockings or golf balls can stimulate demand far more effectively than the most vigorous wage-to-buy of the advertising copy-writer... [George B. Hotchkiss, "Evaluation of the Harvard Study," *Journal of Marketing*, April 1942]

...Sears reflects the state of the nation. Price ceilings have ended panic buying. Hoarders are glutted. War-bond sales and the prospect of higher taxes here held billions [of dollars] out of the retail market. But perhaps most significant — from Sears's point of view — dozens of staple "big ticket" hard-line goods are disappearing from the market... ["Sears's War," *Fortune*, September 1942]

No real [food] shortage exists... But 127 million civilians, with war-fattened incomes, want to buy more and so much better food than 130 million consumed in 1939, that there is not enough to indulge the increased demand... ["Food Rationing: The Time Is Now," *Fortune*, December 1942]

...The second stage [in wartime advertising] marked the real beginning of enlightened selfishness... a stage characterized by advertisers giving at least a slice of their printed or verbal messages to such worthy causes as war bonds or salvage. Now we are in the third stage and we see more and more of the all-out-to-win-the-war type of advertising -- the use of entire pages and entire radio shows to carry out the government's objectives and with a very minimum mention of the company which is footing the bills... [Phillip Salisbury, "Has Advertising Come of Age?" *Journal of Marketing*, July 1943]

Hostilities in Europe and East Asia during 1939 and early 1940 were far removed geographically and scarcely disruptive for American consumers. In fact, few products were in short supply within an economy that, in 1939, was operating well below capacity and still failing to generate an output of goods and service much above the Gross National Product (GNP) of 1929 (*Survey of Current Business*, 1942-5). However, U.S. rearmament and Lend-Lease commitments to Europe after the fall of France in the spring of 1940, Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, and Japan's ominous advances toward southeast Asia during 1940-41 would help to trigger a brisk U.S. economic upturn. In fact, on top of good gains in all economic indicators in 1940, the country experienced in 1941 the sharpest one-year leap in real GNP in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (16.1%) and a corresponding jump in personal

## MILESTONES IN MARKETING HISTORY

consumption expenditure to \$80.6 billion, finally surging beyond the record (\$77.2 billion) level achieved in 1929.

But Pearl Harbor would check this bonanza of household expenditure (Johnson 1943). A sudden combination of undertaking an unprecedented armament program, being cut off from many strategic items, and raising an army forced the nation to reorient output away from consumer demand. Most large and many small firms were directly affected by both political and economic constraints upon production and marketing fairly early in 1942. Thus, a basic question had to be asked soon after December 7, 1941, by senior executives in firms that had been targeting the booming consumer market: what (if any) promotional message do we deliver to our customers as our company is forced to demarket?

For a preliminary assessment of that question and its response, the authors examined a sample of advertising messages delivered to readers of *Ladies' Home Journal* (LHJ) during both the 1940-41 transitional period and for the duration of World War II. The intention is to evaluate and to draw some preliminary conclusions about promotional decisions of firms in light of marketing advice and information made available to executives just before and, especially, during the war.

### DEMARKETING IN THE LITERATURE

Hollander (1984) reviewed sumptuary legislation, or governmental control over consumption, and notes that it is not a major topic of marketing research today. However, such "demarketing by edict" occurs far more commonly than the profession perceives, and it traditionally has had one of several major official objectives: restraining harmful consumption; preserving a social structure; advancing national interests; or protecting society from externalities. Wartime rationing is cited as one example of advancing national interests, typically with the need to preserve scarce resources.

Significantly, various contributors to the marketing literature of the early 1940s sensed that things would be changing even before full-scale demarketing by edict was introduced for most consumer products in the months after Pearl Harbor. For example, Applebaum (1941) revealed that the grocery-retailing sector faces few direct food shortages (except specialty goods from Europe), but that labor shortages associated with the draft and activation of National Guard and reserve units as well as merchant ship transfers to U.K. could generate changes in operation. Gragg (1941) traced the impact of increased national defense spending upon business marketing, including the restraints imposed upon prime contractors in terms of their advertising, product differentiation, and pricing. Meanwhile, Nystrom (1941) saw the extension of public-sector regulation continuing in retailing, citing such threats as enforcement of labeling provisions of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, further action by Federal Trade Commission against misstatements in labeling and

advertising, and widespread public efforts under the "consumerist" umbrella. Hurley (1941) added to the literature by reminding all marketers that the sharp business upturn (associated with defense expenditures was the time) to take actions to retain customers, to forge close relationships with distributors, to foster new product development, and to promote benefits to customers.

Of course, once Pearl Harbor precipitated new ways of doing business, the marketing literature picked up the main trends. For example, Grether (1943) briefed the profession about price controls, while Fainsod and Thompson (1943) explained the special problems confronting retailers, Scott (1943a and b) produced some especially interesting points about advertising.

### BACKGROUND TO 1941-5 ADVERTISING IN THE MARKETING LITERATURE

The American Marketing Association's president (Agnew 1941) presented an interesting review of the complex path to creation of the AMA and to the July 1936 introduction of a journal that would carry research findings. By 1937, a number of articles would start to appear in *Journal of Marketing* giving advice to and opinions by U.S. advertisers/agencies. Note that this was generally a recessionary environment (until 1940) that also carried serious political/regulatory concerns for the profession.

Among a number of advertising studies prepared for the marketing literature before the start of U.S. hostilities, Wagner (1941) carefully charted advertising volume during the inter-war period, noting that a peak (May 1929) occurred near the top of the business cycle, a trough (March 1933) appeared near the worst of the depression and periodic recoveries occurred during the latter 1930s. These were valuable insights about advertising expenditures when tracked against such economic variables as industrial production, corporate profits, factory employment, consumer income, production of consumer goods, and sales in different sectors.

Gardner (1942), in commenting favorably upon Borden's (1942) landmark study, provided several good defenses for advertising in the pre-1941 era when the activity was under severe political attack by many groups including economists. He derides the latter as "hiding under the rationalizations of economic theory" for what is a "snobbish distaste for methods of selling intended for other people, but unfortunately carried out where the eyes and noses of the elite can be offended..." Benson (1938) had earlier documented "a rising tide of [anti-advertising] resentment which has been gathering momentum for the past three years... [including] not less than 5,000,000 organized women... exposed to adverse propaganda of the most sweeping sort... [including from] universities, Government officials and such commercial protectors of the public as Consumers' Research and Consumers' Union". Dameron (1941) summarized this litany of demands from the consumer movement to control advertising content and

## CHARM 2001

concluded that the impact will be emergence of more interesting and professional informative advertising, including an "increasing social control of advertising... [via] direct efforts placing greater censorship on advertising or... indirectly with the growth of legislation calling for standardization, grading, and labeling of consumer goods."

### INFORMATION SOURCES FOR BUSINESS EXECUTIVES

Beyond such contributions in *Journal of Marketing*, the U.S. Government (Department of Commerce) provided business with a convenient monthly review of economic conditions and special articles in its *Survey of Current Business*. While article tone was typically upbeat, there was no mistaking the fact that shortages (by edict) would occur in many sectors after Pearl Harbor. These were spelled out in terms of official allocations by Federal agencies, and data would be published on a timely basis indicating such wartime economic indicators as (diminished) retail sales in different sectors, inflationary pressures, labor shortages, changes in labor-force composition, and impact on GNP. Along with such data about the economic impact of demarketing increasingly came articles looking toward the postwar era.

Two well-regarded private-sector sources of business news and opinion were *Business Week* and *Fortune*. The former long carried a multi-page "Marketing" section that would deliver timely updates about exactly what materials/sectors were being targeted for wartime cutbacks/rationing. In addition, *Business Week* included snapshot articles about how marketing executives were coping with shortages in particular companies, sectors, or geographic areas; and, for executives too busy to read *Printer's Ink*, there were articles about, how the advertising industry was suddenly being welcomed by Washington and being organized to assist the Government with wartime messages to the homefront.

*Fortune* featured a monthly survey that tracked important strategic business issues, including key problems confronted by firms converting to wartime production, consumer attitudes about sacrificing consumption, probable duration of the war, the relative gains and losses of different household segments and expectations about the post-war economy. Simultaneously, in-depth studies of how major (and smaller) firms were managing the wartime conversion tasks were a regular staple.

Finally, it is particularly interesting to note that advertising messages in both publications could themselves be evaluated (by future researchers) as excellent examples of clever demarketing, particularly in the business-to-business sphere.

### ADVERTISEMENTS EXAMINED

During the years surveyed, there were hundreds of advertisements in each monthly issue of LHJ, ranging in

size from two-page spreads to ads which were smaller than 1/32 of a page. For each year, one issue was examined. Only those ads that were at least 1/4 of a page were included in this study.

TABLE 1  
NUMBER OF ADS PER ISSUE

Month	Year	Number
September	1940	73
September	1941	103
September	1942	112
June	1943	129
July	1944	95
July	1945	92
August	1946	111

### "DON'T THINK FOR A MINUTE WE LIKE TO ASK YOU TO DO HOME CANNING"

Although the nation was becoming more prosperous, some of the depression mentality remained, and thrift was the most frequent of the themes measured in LHJ advertising in September 1940. Thirteen of the advertisements mentioned thrift directly, and a number of others alluded to it without making a direct claim for their product. In September 1941, the theme became even more popular with advertisers, perhaps due to political and economic dislocations in Europe, with 19 citing low cost as a benefit of choosing their product. But, by September, 1942, some demarketing of consumer products had become evident. Thrift had been overtaken in importance by a new theme -- conserving -- and women were being urged to maintain what they already had and to use less of products which were either rationed or essential to the war effort. While thrift was mentioned in 11 of these ads, conservation was a theme in 17.

For example, consumers were being urged to walk whenever possible (a shoe advertisement) and to try to limit travel to weekdays to give service men and war workers the week-end seats (Greyhound). They were also asked, by innumerable advertisers, to use less meat and sugar, to lower household spending (with the surplus going to war bonds), and to take proper care of linens, blankets and appliances. This trend continued in 1943, when the September issue had only 9 references to thrift and 18 to conservation.

Canning was an activity which could be done in the home by housewives, and some advertisers made it part of their campaigns. Hellmann's urged recycling its mayonnaise jars for home canning, while Ball advised the purchase of their jars made specifically for this purpose. Certo consistently advised housewives that they could get more jars of jams and jellies from the same amount of fruit and sugar by adding Certo to reduce boiling time. Del

## MILESTONES IN MARKETING HISTORY

Monte even made home canning a part of its demarketing campaign. With its own line of tinned fruits and vegetables in short supply, Del Monte urged housewives to can their own. "Don't think for a minute we like to ask you to do home canning. It's Del Monte's job! To keep you *out* of the kitchen..." Their additional suggestion, that women help the war effort by learning to "switch and sway within the Del Monte line," seemed a further effort in the attempts to keep housewives out of the hands of competitors.

By July, 1944, wartime prosperity had made thrift (only five references) an unpopular theme, although conservation (16) continued to be an issue. And by 1945, while the trend away from thrift (four) continued, conservation (12) was also becoming less significant. With the war in Europe over, America had begun gearing up for a de-demarketed peacetime "world of tomorrow."

### "BUY ONLY NECESSITIES -- AND THE GREATEST NECESSITY TO INVEST IN, FOR OUR FUTURE SAFETY, IS WAR BONDS"

Ads urging purchase of war bonds and stamps showed a similar rise and fall. Appeals to buy these bonds appeared in 1942, reached their high point in 1943 (22 references) and declined in 1944(15) and 1945 (six). These requests took many forms, the simplest of which were direct recommendations ("Buy War Bonds"). In some ads, the message was sharper, involving patriotism and/or victory (generally spelled with a capital "V"). Occasionally, an entire ad was built around war bonds. For example, Kleenex had been running a contest, with a \$5.00 prize, for suggestions for use of its tissue. Winning entries were illustrated in cartoon form in Kleenex ads. In September 1942, the theme changed to "How Kleenex Helps Win the War," and the prizes became \$25.00 war bonds. And, in July 1944, a Canada Dry ginger ale ad featured a pensive man and his young daughter. The text read, "I'm buying more...buying the sinews of war...a share in the Victory. And the war bonds that join in the fight now will mean security for my family, education for my children..."

Because of plant conversion to building weapons of war, products such as appliances were no longer available. Some advertisers (for example, Servel and G.E. kitchen appliances, Ironrite ironers, Ford cars, and even Congoleum-Nairn linoleum and the American Gas Association) launched demarketing campaigns. They now counseled buying bonds today so that the money to buy "the products of your dreams" would be on hand in the "world of tomorrow."

### "CONSERVE, SHARE, AND PLAY SQUARE"

Rationing was not frequently mentioned by wartime advertisers in LHM, and although it was well known that

hoarding of scarce goods was not uncommon, most advertisers appear to have considered it to be a taboo subject. In all of the ads examined, it was only mentioned twice, both times in July 1944. In a Jell-O pudding ad, Kate Smith, an American icon of integrity and patriotism, obliquely addressed the charge that some American women were hoarding or buying without ration stamps. She cited the thousands of letters she received, stating that rather than complaints of shortages, "I get triumphant letters from women who say they use even less than their rations because they want to share and play square." That she was unlikely to receive letters from women bragging about their hoarding skills and stashes of rationed products does not seem to have occurred to her.

Spam, not quite as convinced about the integrity of the American housewife, warned, "There's not as much food as everybody wants. What we have must be shared, through rationing. When you buy food without stamps, you take someone else's share. Conserve, share, and play square."

Price controls were another topic which seems to have been unpopular with wartime advertisers. The only mention found was in a 1944 A&P ad emphasizing that their "'Supers' are selling many foods for less than the ceiling prices they are permitted to charge."

### "SOLDIERS IN HOUSEDRESSES"

U.S. Rubber Company's ad banner was "They also serve who only stand and wait" -- Milton." They continued with a less than Miltonian paean to the housewife:

*You're a woman at home.*

*You don't wear a uniform and you haven't a title.*

*You're the woman who has learned to do without.*

*You make the beds and wash the dishes in double-quick time so that you can take on a lot of other jobs that have been left to you.*

*You cook meat-stretching stews -- and they taste wonderful.*

*You mow the lawn, fix the water faucet -- yes, put up the screens.*

*You do without the men of your family.*

*You do not forget to be a woman -- to look pretty, to write happy letters*

*You, and homes like yours, are what we're fighting for.*

Although older women were not yet being urged to apply for defense jobs, they were far from being classified "4F" in the war effort. Selby shoes, in a full-page ad captioned "Your man-sized job calls for comfortable shoes," shows a daughter going off to her defense job while mom stays at home studying first aid. G.E. covered all fronts in an ad which shows: women performing war work at a GE plant, a woman at home working to keep her budget down so that the family can purchase war bonds, and a woman volunteering at a mobile canteen unit.

Lest those women who adamantly chose housekeeping as their full-time occupation be made to feel that they were completely shirking their duty to the war effort, the

## CHARM 2001

DuBarry Success Course presented its latest "success story." In this ad, a housewife (and DuBarry course graduate) announced, "I lost 42 pounds...what a saving in fabric!"

Pequot sheets (1943) went so far as to "pay a tribute to Soldiers in Housedresses," urging them to "be proud -- if your 'uniform' is a housedress!" Meals must be prepared -- from less food. Clothes must be provided -- but fewer new ones. These are your problems. And you've buckled to them with the courage and patriotism of the fighting soldier." But they were careful to illustrate their ad with a portly, middle-aged, housedress-clad "soldier."

Despite the fact that Nabisco Shredded Wheat depicted a housewife who proclaimed, "there's a war job in my kitchen," not every advertiser agreed. It was now being suggested that "Every woman-hour is needed to help win the war (Modess). Not even schoolgirls were exempt from this pronouncement. Kotex ("For Freedom") suggested that if she wanted to be a better citizen, no matter the time of month, the teen-ager could organize an all-school treasure hunt for "the scrap material Uncle Sam needs for his win." Scott Tissue went them one better, affirming that even the littlest of girls could be "A War-Time Clean-Up Warden...[since] mother is doubly busy with housework and war work." This undertaking involved sending a letter to Scott requesting a free "Official War-Time Clean-Up Warden" arm band and helping in all possible ways with housework.

### "I WHISTLE WHEN I WASH DISHES, TOO"

Unless pre-wartime housewives were in the throes of thorny problems -- clothes which were less than snowwhite (Rinso), soothing a cranky child (Fletcher's Castoria), or suffering from lack of personal daintiness (Cashmere Bouquet) -- they were depicted in LHJ ads as smiling incessantly. They smiled as they laundered undies (Lux flakes) or washed dishes and faces (Ivory soap). They smiled as they offered their delighted (and also beaming) families dinners built around Spam, with Jell-O for dessert. They smiled as they scrubbed their pots and pans (Brillo) polished their (Crane) bathroom fixtures, or showed off their properly corseted (Spencer Corsets) or dowdily clad (Lane Bryant stout line) figures. Being a (properly equipped) housewife was just plain fun.

While dozens of ads in every issue featured housewives beaming radiantly as they went about their chores, only a few advertisers actually told readers that using their products would *make* housework enjoyable (in 1941, there were four such ads). But our entry into the war initiated a change. If there was so much fun to be had scrubbing, mopping, washing, ironing, and preparing meals for the family, it might make the already difficult job of coaxing the housewife out of her home and into a defense plant even more complicated. For years, LHJ articles and editorials had urged that the only proper place for a married woman was at home caring for the needs of her family.

With the onset of the war, however, women workers were desperately needed to fill not only the jobs vacated by men now on military duty but also the additional jobs created to produce the necessities of war. Advertisers responded to this new demand on women's efforts and produced only one such "housework is fun" ad in 1942, and none at all in 1943.

By July of 1944, however, it became apparent, from the LHJ ads, that the men overseas would soon be coming home, and that there had been some significant and, probably, unwelcome changes in the world they had left behind. The depression and widespread unemployment of the 1930s had not been forgotten, and in this war, another factor could add to male discomfort and impede their employment efforts. Although women had been an important part of homefront production in 1917-8, many times the number of women had gone to work in 1942-5. To help the war effort, certain advertisers had downplayed the bliss of being a full-time housewife in order to encourage women to work at jobs outside their homes, and surveys were indicating that many of them had little or no desire to return to full-time housekeeping and child rearing. They had proven their ability to get a job done and to do it well, they had found excitement and feelings of their own competence, and they had, not least of all, earned far more money than had been paid for the "women's work" to which they had formerly been relegated -- if they had worked at all.

Increasingly, major campaigns were being undertaken on many fronts to convince women to return to their "rightful place" so that the jobs they had filled so credibly would be, once again, available to the men they had replaced. Advertising joined in this effort. Ads which had formerly extolled the virtues of war work now firmly placed women back in the role of housewife, confining work outside the home to volunteerism (e.g., Ponds: "She's engaged! She's Lovely! She uses Ponds! And she teaches piano to children in foster homes"). No longer were women in overalls, and with hair swathed in turbans, pictured cheerfully going off to work in factories. Instead, women were replanted in their kitchens, and one article even warned of the danger of being "too educated to be a mother (since) more highly educated women had fewer children... thereby squandering their genetic inheritance."

### "THIS IS HOW A NEW 1943 NORGE WOULD LOOK IN YOUR KITCHEN."

In 1942, those manufacturers who had shifted to war production began a major demarketing effort. By 1943, manufacturers of appliances (one of the many items severely restricted in production) had changed their advertising focus from "buy now" to "just wait till you see what we'll have for you once Victory has been achieved." Alcoa aluminum's 1943 ad promised that: "The men and women of Alcoa aluminum are doing everything in their power to bring the boys back home soon." GE featured a

## MILESTONES IN MARKETING HISTORY

housewife who was "...in the War...Personally! Maybe I can't 'join up' and wear a uniform or work in a factory... but I'm finding a lot of things I can do to help...like saving tin...and keeping the household budget down so there will be more dimes and dollars for War Bonds! ... We women know this is our war, too."

US Steel ran an ad advising: "That useless scrap rotting away in your cellar has enough steel in it to make vital military equipment." Among their suggestions:

- A lawnmower is equal to six 3" shells
- A set of golf clubs is equal to a 0.30 caliber machine gun
- A radiator is equal to seventeen .30 caliber rifles
- A set of tire chains is equal to twenty 37 mm. anti-aircraft shells
- An iron is equal to two steel helmets.

The reader was urged to "Ransack your garage -- your cellar."

Sunbeam Mixmaster advised that: *Many dealers have Mixmasters, but if your dealer should not, it is because of our 'all out' war production program at the Sunbeam factory. In such a case, put Mixmaster on your "Victory List" of things to get first when peace returns. (We will continue to advertise so you'll remember.)*

Perhaps one of the most eye-catching of the LHM ads in this category was Norge's "This is how a new 1943 Norge would look in your kitchen." An astonished couple is shown rearing back as they view a tank in their kitchen, with a soldier aiming the guns in his 1943 Norge gun turret directly at them. *No foe in air, at land, on sea [in the kitchen] is fleet enough to elude this searching aim.*

*Such is the new Norge for 1943. It embodies more than the actual steel and other critical materials, which would have gone into your refrigerator. Into it have gone, too, the bold imagination, the conscientious skill, the mechanical deftness, the 'know-how' which would have made your new Norge the finest ever built. When the guns are stilled, you can be sure that Norge technology and skill, stimulated by the stern school of war, will bring you even greater satisfaction, greater convenience than you have enjoyed before.*

Sunbeam, as promised, continued to "advertise to remind you," offering free Victory recipes for those lucky enough to own, and wise enough to have cared well for, a Mixmaster. *"If you have one -- care for it and get the most out of it. If not -- buy a war bond today for your Mixmaster later... There have been no Mixmasters manufactured... since Spring, 1942... But they will be back at Victory. Get yours with a War Bond."* In the ad, a woman is pictured saying to her little girl, "We'll make this bond for our Sunbeam Mixmaster after Victory."

**"HELLO MOM -- WHAT DO I DO NOW?...WE'VE BEEN MARRIED EIGHT WHOLE HOURS, AND HE HASN'T SO MUCH AS KISSED ME..."**

In the 1930s, the consumer movement determined that many firms employed scare tactics to lure women into using their products. Although this was not a common theme in LHM during the years examined, there were certain advertisers who employed this technique (e.g., Ipana toothpaste, Lux, Campana Balm hand cream). In 1940, six advertisers in LHM utilized scare campaigns. This number dropped to four in 1942. Campana's 1942 ad was headed "One, please," and showed a woman buying a single ticket to a movie while all around her were in pairs. Her problem was that "Strange Things Can Happen to Romance When a Girl Neglects Her Hands! Men don't make sense, sometimes - but if your mother did not tell you, it's proper now that you know. A girl's sweet, tender hands hold the key that unlocks many a romance."

In that issue, the heroine of Cashmere Bouquet soap's ad had an even greater problem. Apparently, her hands had won the groom of her choice, but on her honeymoon, she telephoned Mom to ask, in desperation. "Hello Mom -- What do I do now?...We've been married eight whole hours, and he hasn't so much as kissed me..."

Cashmere Bouquet to the rescue: "...here's a gentle, truly feminine soap that leaves you alluringly scented -- and daily use stops all body odor." She (later) "But tell me... does Cashmere Bouquet always make a groom so attentive?"

Ipana changed from its "Don't be Mortified!" message (1940) to a "bright new tomorrow for our children" (1943). In 1944, they acknowledged, "You'll celebrate Victory with a clear conscience. Because you're working hard toward Victory now. Good girl Your country needs you in a vital job." But, in that same issue, Mum warned, "Quit sitting on the cover of your hope chest! All the girls were getting married. But not Alice..."

**"POSSIBLY (SAVES) YOU AS MUCH AS AN HOUR'S MAKE-UP TIME EACH DAY..."**

Although cosmetics in general did little to promote the war effort beyond showing their models being admired, wooed, and wed by service men, rather than civilian beaux, some beauty products did embrace wartime themes. Examples include nail polishes such as Cutex ("The hand that drives a truck... rolls a bandage...! Let's keep it gay"), Revlon ("For your busy double life -- war worker, and charming companion to your man"), and Jergens hand lotion ("War workers keep their hands enchanting while learning motor mechanics for Uncle Sam.") All implied that it was a woman's patriotic duty to remain feminine while filling masculine boots. Tangee (1943) provided a disheartening (and, hopefully, a highly inaccurate) glimpse of the American war worker's dedication to her work by promising to "possibly (save) you as much as an hour's make-up time each day" by using their line of "lasting" cosmetics, thereby creating the longed-for 25-hour day.

**"UNCLE SAM WANTS YOU TO USE MORE PAPER PRODUCTS"**

In a world where some advertisers were forced into a demarketing effort by circumstances, it is not surprising that some unaffected advertisers took the opposite tack. There were those who exploited the war to peddle more of their products. This effort ranged from the relatively mild urging of Bigelow (1942) to buy a new Bigelow carpet, because "Home is more Important Than Ever Now" to the more strident effort of Phillip Morris (1943) - "Wanted: 1,000,000 more Women - to make the *wiser, safer* choice of Phillip Morris."

Postum, a hot drink product, attempted to take advantage of the shortage of items which consumers might have considered preferable to their own. Postum declared:

*It depends on how you look at it...Some people have the wrong slant on Postum.*

*When they try it for the first time, they try it with the idea that it's going to taste like coffee. Which it most distinctly does not! Postum tastes no more like coffee than coffee tastes like tea. What does Postum taste like: Well, to give you the right slant on it -- Postum tastes like Postum. It has a corking good flavor that's all its own!...And Postum is especially appreciated these days of tea, coffee, and cocoa shortages... and limited budgets (it's economical...)*

The truly tacky ad for Milapaco Lace Paper Doilies declared that "It's patriotic to serve on paper. Uncle Sam wants you to use more paper products to release more cotton for our armed forces. That's why it's PATRIOTIC to use Milapaco...EVERY DAY"

Among those who attempted to capitalize on the war were several manufacturers of sterling silver and silver-plated flatware. Towle and Gorham constantly played on this theme. In one ad, Gorham saluted the unselfish women who shared...*this year Gorham did an extraordinary thing. It asked American Women to share the available sterling silver. Gallantly, American Women responded. Gorham salutes the established home that unselfishly gave war brides first choice...the brides who limited their own purchases to share with other girls.* Another pictured a soldier talking to his girl: *"I've a whole month and plenty of sugar points for a wedding cake. Unpack that wedding silver, honey, and get ready to live a lifetime fast."*

**"SALUTE TO THE HOUSEWIFE. YOU, AND HOMES LIKE YOURS, ARE WHAT WE'VE BEEN FIGHTING FOR"**

In 1940, women in LHJ ads were virtually never seen working outside the home. The only working woman depicted in an ad in the September issue *had* been a nurse (thereby providing her with credibility as a spokeswoman for Fletcher's Castona) who had left that job to raise a family. This both supplied her with professional expertise and gave the reader confidence that she was also a proper

parent. Women were viewed as taking their housekeeping duties seriously back then. The young wife in a Fels-Naptha ad was so completely devastated by her husband's dissatisfaction with the whiteness of his shirts that she left him, forced from her home by her substandard skills as a housekeeper. Only when convinced by an older, wiser friend, that she could, indeed, (with the help of Fels-Naptha) produce sparkling white batches of laundry, did she gain sufficient confidence in her housekeeping skills to return to her home.

In the early years of the war, women were deemed, by advertising copywriters, to be too busy participating in the war effort to sit and cry over spoiled cakes and dingy washes. But by 1944, some advertisers had begun to fear that a monster had been created. GE's forward-thinking ad featured a husband musing. "I've been wondering about my wife...Don't get me wrong. I felt darn proud...when she took over a man-sized job in a war plant...(but) how's she going to feel about going back to the old housekeeping routine after the war?" This ad appears to have been an isolated instance of concern for the return to the status quo. Most ads simply took women out of the workplace and unceremoniously plopped them back in their kitchens -- where they truly belonged.

**"THERE'S A FORD IN YOUR FUTURE."**

Ford had begun, in 1944, to promise that although now producing "great aircraft and other tools of Victory...there will come a day..[when you will] benefit from new materials and fabrication methods. There's a Ford in your future."

By 1945, members of the armed forces were returning home, and advertisers were edging toward their peacetime copy--with provisos. Cannon warned that it was "Too wonderful to be real..just yet," and Frigidaire was looking forward to "a complete and final Victory...when (we can) return to peacetime pursuits. MOR (a Spam-like meat product) noted that "Government requirements for our armed forces and Allies naturally make it difficult at times to maintain a normal civilian supply of MOR.. Should MOR be out of stock...remember that the condition is only temporary."

Beauty rest mattresses, which had urged consumers *not* to buy their "duration" mattress, the "White Night" (apparently spring-less and made of felt) now exulted "Yes...they're here again. BUT...you'd better hurry! So many people want them, there simply aren't enough...to go around...please be patient...first come, first served."

Some messages were less positive. While the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company trumpeted that there was "A great day ahead for motorists," it warned that this day would not be with us until new cars and tires are plentiful, highways are repaired, and those whose driving experience suffered wartime limitations had brushed up on their driving skills. Overall it urged that "until you and your car were up to speed, you should keep off the road."

## MILESTONES IN MARKETING HISTORY

The National Dairy Production Board resorted to an escalated version of scare advertising, asking, ...will these children listen to another Hitler a few years from now? Won't you...back our promise to send food? Surely, you'll continue to salvage fats...of course you'll take as much care not to waste milk as you will to conserve other things...

### SUMMARY

Demarketing efforts to women during WW II is a relatively unexplored area. A preliminary study of the ads in LHM during this period has produced a number of themes, which pervade copy. Among the demarketing themes to promote conservation of goods needed for the war effort are care of household perishable goods (linen, clothing, etc.), maintenance of larger-ticket items which were unavailable for the duration, and changes in lifestyle as a necessary component of the war. In addition, there was a major change in image, for women, from contented housewife to productive, competent worker...and back. In a less benign light, there were advertisers who employed scare tactics to sell their products, and those who tried to use the war to their own advantage. Overall, there is still a great amount of research to be done in this area.

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